

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7155
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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY BONN POUCH
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AMEMBASSY LAGOS POUCH
AMEMBASSY LONDON POUCH
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA POUCH
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AMEMBASSY NAIROBI POUCH
AMEMBASSY PARIS POUCH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 CAPE TOWN 808

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINS, SF
SUBJECT: PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE: TERRORISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

1. WHILE ALMOST INSIGNIFICANT COMPARED TO OTHER WORLD TROUBLE
SPOTS, TERRORISM IN SOUTH AFRICA HAS INCREASED MARKEDLY OVER THE
PAST 16 MONTHS. MORE THAN 25 INCIDENTS OF URBAN TERRORISM HAVE
OCCURRED IN THIS PERIOD AS WELL AS THE FIRST REPORTS OF
GUERRILLA-TYPE OPERATIONS IN THE BORDER AREA. IT WOULD SEEM
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THE ANC IS AT PRESENT THE MOST EFFECTIVE UNDERGROUND GROUP
AND IS APPARENTLY STEADILY INCREASING ITS RECRUITMENT OF
OPERATIVES. OUR INFORMATION INDICATES THE PAC IS ALSO EXPANDING
ITS ACTIVITIES, ALTHOUGH IT SEEMS TO BE HAMPERED BY
LESS EFFECTIVE ORGANIZATION AND A NON-COOPERATIVE
ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF MOZAMBIQUE WHICH SUPPORTS THE
ANC. DESPITE THE EXPANSION OF ANC/PAC OPERATIONS,

THE MATERIAL EFFECT OF TERRORISM IN SOUTH AFRICA TODAY IS RELATIVELY SMALL AND IS LIKELY TO REMAIN UNDER CONTROL FOR SOME TIME. THE MAIN EFFECT OF THE TERRORIST CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN AND FOR SOME YEARS WILL LIKELY CONTINUE TO BE PSYCHOLOGICAL. AMONG OTHER RESULTS, THE WHITE POPULATION AS WELL AS THE GOVERNMENT MAY GIVE MORE WEIGHT THAN BEFORE TO DAMPENING DISCONTENT IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY. AT THE SAME TIME, SOME DEGREE OF BACKLASH IS ALSO LIKELY, INCLUDING COUNTER-TERRORISM AGAINST LIBERAL ELEMENTS. ANOTHER FALLOUT MAY BE AN INCREASING ROLE FOR BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICAN SECURITY FORCES. THE IMPACT ON POTENTIAL FOREIGN INVESTORS IN SOUTH AFRICA EVENTUALLY COULD ALSO BE SIGNIFICANT. IN THE LONG TERM, TERRORISM COULD PLAY A KEY ROLE IN CREATING A CLIMATE IN WHICH THE SAG WOULD MOVE TOWARD NEGOTIATIONS WITH BLACK MODERATES AND CONSERVATIVES WITHIN THE COUNTRY. IN ANY EVENT, THE PORTENTS ARE THAT TERRORISM IS LIKELY GRADUALLY TO GROW BEYOND ITS INFANCY AND TO BECOME A SOURCE OF INCREASING TENSION BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS NEIGHBORS. END SUMMARY.

2. IN THE PAST, ONE NOTABLE ASPECT OF BLACK UNREST IN SOUTH AFRICA WAS ITS FAILURE TO TOUCH THE LIFE OF THE AVERAGE WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN. OVER THE PAST YEAR, HOWEVER, THE SITUATION HAS CHANGED; VIOLENCE IS NO LONGER ISOLATED IN THE BLACK TOWNSHIPS. 1977 SAW A REMARKABLE INCREASE IN TERRORIST ARRESTS, TRIALS, AND INCIDENTS, CONFIDENTIAL

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INCLUDING THE NOV. 24 BLAST AT THE CARLTON CENTER, WHICH INJURED 19 PERSONS, AND THREE SUBSEQUENT BOMB INCIDENTS IN THE JOHANNESBURG AREA. (JOHANNESBURG 0494, 0390).

3. IN DECEMBER OF 1976, WHEN A BOMB EXPLODED IN A CARLTON CENTER RESTAURANT INJURING THE MAN CARRYING THE DEVICE, JUSTICE MINISTER KRUGER REMARKED THAT THIS WAS "POSSIBLY THE OPENING SHOT IN URBAN TERRORISM." SINCE THEN, MORE THAN TWENTY-FIVE INCIDENTS OF TERRORIST ACTIVITY HAVE OCCURRED; NUMEROUS BLACKS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED DURING THIS PERIOD AS SUSPECTED TERRORISTS AND APPROXIMATELY 96 TRIALS UNDER THE TERRORISM ACT AND OTHER SECURITY LAWS HAVE BEEN HELD THROUGHOUT SOUTH AFRICA. IN 1977, ACCORDING TO A RECENT NEWSPAPER ACCOUNT, 140 PEOPLE WERE SENTENCED TO A TOTAL OF NEARLY 900 YEARS IMPRISONMENT FOR SECURITY OFFENSES. THE FIRST REPORT OF SERIOUS GUERRILLA-TYPE OPERATIONS IN THE BORDER AREA WAS CONTAINED IN A RECENT GOVERNMENT REVELATION OF CLASHES WITH ALLEGED INFILTRATING ANC GUERRILLAS IN THE EASTERN TRANSVAAL AREA (PRETORIA 2250).

4. GIVEN THE LEVEL OF DISCONTENT IN SOUTH AFRICA,

TERRORIST INCIDENTS OVER THE PAST YEAR MAY NOT APPEAR EXTENSIVE IN EITHER NUMBER OR EFFECT. THEY TAKE ON GREATER SIGNIFICANCE, HOWEVER, WHEN COMPARED TO PREVIOUS YEARS. ALTHOUGH UP TO LATE 1976 THERE HAD BEEN OCCASIONAL VIOLENT ACTS AIMED AT THE WHITE COMMUNITY OVER THE PREVIOUS TWO DECADES, ONE MUST GO BACK TO THE DAYS OF AFRIKANER NATIONALIST PROTEST TO FIND ANY PARALLEL TO THE VIOLENT EVENTS OF THE PAST YEAR.

5. SINCE THE CARLTON CENTER INCIDENT IN DECEMBER 1976, THE SAG HAS STEADILY ESCALATED ITS WARNINGS TO THE PUBLIC ABOUT TERRORISM. IN FEBRUARY, 1977 AFTER THE SAG UNCOVERED TWO ARMS CACHES OF COMMUNIST ORIGIN, KRUGER TOLD PARLIAMENT THAT HE HAD "BROKEN THE BACK OF THE URBAN TERRORISTS." ARRESTS AND ARMS SEIZURE IN AUGUST LED TO SIMILAR CLAIMS. AFTER THE OUTBURST
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OF BOMBINGS AT THE END OF LAST YEAR, HOWEVER, THE GOVERNMENT BEGAN WARNING THAT TERRORISM WOULD INCREASE. POLICE AUTHORITIES HAVE ISSUED STATEMENTS ASKING THE PUBLIC TO BE ALERT FOR SIGNS OF BOMBS, AND CIVIL DEFENSE AND BORDER CONTROL MEASURES ARE BEING TIGHTENED. COMMERCIAL STORES, TRAIN STATIONS AND OTHER PUBLIC FACILITIES ARE ALSO IMPROVING SECURITY AT LEAST IN A RUDIMENTARY WAY.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 CAPE TOWN 808

A JOHANNESBURG NEWSPAPER WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE
POLICE RAN A SERIES OF ARTICLES ON ANTI-BOMB PROCEDURES,
AND ONE ENTERPRISING COMPANY IS FEATURING "TERRORISM
INSURANCE."

6. THE POLICE LINK MOST TERRORIST INCIDENTS TO THE ANC AND THE
PAC. BOTH ORGANIZATIONS ARE SAID TO HAVE OPERATIONAL
NETWORKS WITHIN THE COUNTRY THAT DRAW SUPPORT FROM OUTSIDE.
THE ANC SEEMS AT PRESENT THE MOST EFFECTIVE UNDERGROUND GROUP
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AND IT IS APPARENTLY STEADILY INCREASING IT RECRUITMENT OF
OPERATIVES. ANC RECRUITS REPORTEDLY EXIT THROUGH BOTSWANA,
SWAZILAND AND MOZAMBIQUE AND ARE SENT TO TRAINING CAMPS
IN TANZANIA AND ANGOLA. A SMALLER NUMBER OF CADRE PROCEED TO
THE SOVIET UNION, CUBA OR OTHER BLOC COUNTRIES FOR SPECIALIZED
TRAINING. ACCORDING TO THE POLICE, TRAINED AGENTS ARE STAGED
IN BOTSWANA AND SWAZILAND FOR GRADUAL INFILTRATION BACK INTO
SOUTH AFRICA. RHE PAC IS ALSO ACTIVELY RECRUITING AND EXPANDING
ITS ACTIVITIES ALTHOUGH IT SEEMS TO BE HAMPERED BY A LESS
EFFECTIVE ORGANIZATION AND A NON-COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE ON THE PART
OF MOZAMBIQUE WHICH SUPPORTS THE ANC. THE PAC HAS RECEIVED
CHINESE SUPPORT AND SOME PAC PERSONNEL HAVE REPORTEDLY BEEN
TRAINED IN THE PRC. THE MAIN FACTORS CONTROLLING THE RATE
AT WHICH ANC/PAC ACTIVITIES EXPAND WILL PROBABLY BE RECRUITMENT
IN SOUTH AFRICA, THE DEGREE OF COOPERATION OF NEIGHBORING
STATES, AND THE EFFECTIVENESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN COUNTER MEASURES.

7. BLACK MILITANTS HAVE TOLD US THAT THE ANC STRATEGY HAS BEEN
TO CONCENTRATE ON ECONOMIC TARGETS, WHILE THE PAC HAVE DIRECTED
THEIR CADRE TO INFLICT CIVILIAN CASUALTIES,
AS IN THE CASE OF THE GOCH STREET SHOOT-OUT LAST YEAR (77 JOHAN-
NESBURG 1503). RECENTLY, SECURITY POLICE CHIEF C.F. ZEITS-
MAN SAID THE ANC IS USING THE CLASSIC TACTIC OF ATTEMPTING
TO INVOLVE AS MANY SECURITY FORCE UNITS AS POSSIBLE IN THE
RURAL AREAS WHILE SENDING SMALL GROUPS TO THE CITIES.

8. DESPITE THE EXPANSION OF ANC/PAC OPERATIONS, THE MATERIAL EFFECT OF TERRORISM IN SOUTH AFRICA TODAY IS RELATIVELY SMALL, AND BY WORLD STANDARDS--EVEN IN COMPARISON TO TERRORISM IN SOME STABLE DEMOCRACIES--IT IS LIKELY TO REMAIN UNDER CONTROL FOR SOME TIME. THE SAG'S INTERNAL SECURITY SYSTEM HAS BEEN EFFECTIVE IN FERRETING OUT INFORMATION IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY
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AND AT LEAST FOR THE NEXT TWO OR THREE YEARS WILL PROBABLY BE ABLE TO CONTAIN THE LEVEL OF TERRORISM WELL BELOW THAT WHICH COULD SERIOUSLY THREATEN THE SECURITY OR ECONOMY OF THE COUNTRY OR EVEN THE MORALE OF THE WHITE POPULATION. SO FAR THERE HAS BEEN NO DRAMATIC DAMAGE TO THE ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE OR EXTENSIVE LOSS OF LIVES. THERE ARE, HOWEVER, MANY VULNERABLE TARGETS IN SOUTH AFRICA. THERE IS NO SECURITY SCREENING, FOR EXAMPLE, ON DOMESTIC AIRLINE FLIGHTS. TO DATE THE TERRORISTS SEEM PRIMARILY INTERESTED IN DEMONSTRATING THAT THEY ARE PRESENT AND OPERATING.

9. SOWETO POLICE CHIEF VAN VISSER HAS TOLD US PRIVATELY THAT HE FEELS THE TEMPO AND FREQUENCY OF TERRORIST-TYPE VIOLENCE WILL CONTINUE TO GROW UNLESS THERE IS SOCIAL PROGRESS THROUGH "FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES WITHIN." THE POLICE, HOWEVER, BELIEVE THAT AT PRESENT THEY ARE ON TOP OF THE SITUATION. VISSER SAID THAT TERRORIST GROUPS BASED IN ANGOLA HAD "DRIED UP" AND THE FOCUS OF CONCERN HAD SHIFTED TO THE INFILTRATION OF WEAPONS AND EXPLOSIVES FROM MOZAMBIQUE.

10. THE MAIN EFFECT OF THE TERRORIST CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN AND WILL LIKELY CONTINUE TO BE PSYCHOLOGICAL. BOMB INCIDENTS NOW RECEIVE BANNER HEADLINE TREATMENT, BUT AS THEY INCREASE IN NUMBER, BOTH THE PRESS AND THE POPULATION ARE LIKELY TO BECOME MORE INURED TO THEM. INCREASED TERRORISM COULD FURTHER SPUR EMIGRATION, PARTICULARLY OF ENGLISH-SPEAKERS, BUT THE BULK OF THE WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN POPULATION IS LIKELY TO STEEL (AND ARM) THEMSELVES FOR THE ORDEAL. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, THE WHITE POPULATION AS WELL AS THE GOVERNMENT MAY GIVE MORE WEIGHT THAN BEFORE TO DAMPENING DISCONTENT IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY AND COOPTING AS MANY BLACKS AS POSSIBLE. THUS, DESPITE CLAIMS THAT TERRORISM LIKE OTHER FORMS OF PRESSURE ONLY INTENSIFIES WHITE INTRANSIGENCE, THE GOVERNMENT AS A RESULT OF THE THREAT OF VIOLENCE WILL PROBABLY HAVE GREATER PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE
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INTRODUCTION OF ANY ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REFORMS AFFECTING
BLACKS THAT IT WISHES TO INTRODUCE.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 CAPE TOWN 808

SOME DEGREE OF BLACKLASH HOWEVER IS ALSO LIKELY TO OCCUR. THE
RECENT KILLING OF DR. TURNER (DURBAN 0048) AND VIOLENCE AND
THREATS PERPETRATED AGAINST OTHER "RADICALS" SUCH
AS INDIAN LEADER FATIMA MEER AND LIBERAL LAWYER SHUN
CHETTY MAY BE EXAMPLES OF THIS. THE SAG WILL UNDOUBTEDLY
CONTINUE TO EXPAND ITS OWN "ANTI-TERRORIST" CAPABILITIES,
AND AS IN RHODESIA, THE RESULT COULD BE AN INCREASING
ROLE FOR BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICAN SECURITY AND POLICE FORCES
IN TERMS OF BOTH NUMBERS AND RANK. SOME COMMANDO OFFICERS
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HAVE ALREADY WELCOMED THE ENROLLMENT OF BLACKS IN THEIR UNITS, A COURSE RECENTLY ENDORSED BY SADF COMMANDER, GENERAL MALAN.

11. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECT ABROAD MAY BE EQUALLY IMPORTANT. A PATTERN OF ESCALATING TERRORISM WILL KEEP THE SOUTH AFRICAN ISSUE ON THE FRONT PAGES OF THE WORLD PRESS, MAINTAIN THE IMAGE OF BLACK RESISTANCE, AND TEND TO REFUTE CLAIMS BY THE SAG THAT ITS SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT POLICIES ARE WORKING. THE IMPACT ON POTENTIAL FOREIGN INVESTORS COULD BE SIGNIFICANT, AND OVER THE LONG-TERM COULD CONTRIBUTE SUBSTANTIALLY TO SOUTH AFRICA'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

12. OTHER SERIOUS INTERNATIONAL RAMIFICATIONS COULD DEVELOP. SOUTH AFRICAN LEADERS HAVE STATED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS THAT THE SAG WOULD NOT TOLERATE TERRORIST OR GUERRILLA BASES IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES TARGETED AT SOUTH AFRICA. THE SOUTH AFRICANS APPEAR TO HAVE GOOD INTELLIGENCE ABOUT WHAT IS TAKING PLACE IN THESE COUNTRIES. FOR THIS REASON, BOTSWANA, SWAZILAND AND MOZAMBIQUE SO FAR HAVE NOT ALLOWED EXTENSIVE FACILITIES FOR SOUTH AFRICAN TERRORIST ON THEIR SOIL(SEE MBABANE 1296). NEVERTHELESS, THE TERRORISTS MUST STAGE OUT OF THESE COUNTRIES, AND INCREASING FRICTION WITH SOUTH AFRICA OVER THIS ISSUE IS LIKELY. INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM DIRECTED AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA COULD ALSO BLOSSOM IN EUROPE, THE US AND ELSEWHERE.

13. PROSPECTS: FOLLOWING THE OCT. 19 CRACKDOWN, THE FOCUS OF THE BLACK MOVEMENT AMONG MILITANT ELEMENTS HAS TURNED TOWARD THE LONG-TERM REVOLUTIONARY GOAL OF OVERTHROWING THE REGIME RATHER THAN CHANGING THE SYSTEM (CAPE TOWN 759). AS A RESULT OF THIS MOOD, RECRUITMENT PROSPECTS FOR THE ANC AND PAC ARE PROBABLY INCREASING. TERRORISM COULD THUS EVENTUALLY DEVELOP

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INTO MORE EXTENSIVE GUERRILLA-TYPE ACTION SUCH AS EXISTS IN RHODESIA; IF SO, IT WILL DRAMATICALLY INCREASE TENSION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. TERRORISM ALONE WILL PROBABLY NOT SUCCEED IN BRINGING DOWN THE REGIME, BUT IT WILL BE A MAJOR CATALYST IN THE FUTURE DYNAMICS OF CHANGE, INCLUDING ANY EVENTUAL SAG DECISION TO NEGOTIATE A SHARED ORDER WITH MODERATE AND CONSERVATIVE BLACKS IN THE COUNTRY.

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